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thorities in the Dutch India Seas has been given to arbitration. The boundary dispute between Brazil and Argentina submitted some time ago to the President of the United States, was the past winter decided by him in favor of Brazil, and the decision was loyally accepted by the Argentine Republic.

THE PROSPECT.

It is little short of miraculous that with so many disturbing incidents and so many causes of irritation in the international relations of the last twelve months there has been so little actual war. Fifty years ago with so many *casus belli* there would have been clashing of arms everywhere. The truth is that though there has been plenty of bluster and threatening, large exhibitions of "Jingo patriotism" and loud-mouthed assertions of readiness to fight, all the world, there has been much less real desire to fight than appearances would indicate. Peace, now the prevailing state of human society in the large, has maintained and strengthened itself in the midst of these confusions, not primarily because fighting is more destructive than formerly, but because of the growing conviction on the part both of the masses and of statesmen that war is everywhere and always not only cruel and inhuman but really unnecessary. It is hardly extravagant to say that, in spite of appearances to the contrary, the events of the year taken in their aggregate and interpreted according to true principles furnish as real ground for encouragement as those of any year since our work as an organization began.

With thankfulness to God that we have been permitted to render some humble service in the promotion of a great cause to the rapid advancement of which so many agencies are contributing, we respectfully submit this our report.

SPECIAL PUBLIC MEETING.

A special public meeting of the Society, called for the purpose of promoting public sentiment in favor of the proposed treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain and of the neutralization of the Hawaiian Islands, was held in the evening at Association Hall. The audience was not as large as had been hoped but it was a representative one. In spirit the meeting could not have been better, and the speaking was of an exceptionally high order.

Hon. Robert Treat Paine presided. He said that movements should not be judged by the size of the audiences which gather in their support. Many of the great movements which had finally transformed society had at first been represented by a few thoughtful, earnest people gathered in council. After briefly alluding to the greatness and growing importance of the cause in whose interests the meeting was gathered he introduced Mr. Edward Atkinson who he believed was the originator of the

idea of the neutralization of the Hawaiian Islands. Mr. Atkinson's address, which was listened to with the closest attention, is given in full on another page.

Mr. Henry Lloyd was next introduced to speak on the relations of workingmen to arbitration. He said that he was glad to stand for a few moments on that platform and express his approval of the work in which the Peace Society was engaged. He was glad to see even as many representative people as were present thus manifesting their interest. The cause was so great that it could not be adequately represented by the largest audiences which could possibly be gathered together. The labor movement stood for arbitration as the only proper means of settling disputes between nations as well as between laborers and their employers. No class of people had more to fear from the development of the Jingo spirit than the laboring men. The men, senators and others, who were doing so much to develop jingoism would keep at a safe distance if there were any real fighting to do, and the workingmen would be the ones who would be shot down. The United States Navy may be looked upon as about as useless as a fifth wheel to a coach. He was sorry there was so much bitterness between laborers and capitalists. They ought to be able to sit down together and calmly and impartially solve their differences. It did not show a very advanced state of civilization that third parties had to be called in. Workingmen in this country had paid but little attention to the international aspects of the question because it had not been necessary. In Europe they had everywhere protested against the growing militarism and they should have to do so here, if the military spirit kept on growing as it had been doing lately. He referred to the great influence of leading men like Lord Rosebery and the Bishop of Durham in England and Bishop Potter and others in New York in settling difficulties between labor and capital, and wondered why their example was not oftener followed. The Federation of Labor was not in favor of strikes, if they could be avoided in fairness to working people. Their leaders had declined to allow the Federation to be drawn into the Chicago strike. They were in favor of patience, and appeals to reason and the sense of justice, rather than to violence. The labor men, he said, could be relied upon to support the movement for the removal of the causes of strife and for the promotion of peace for which the Peace Society stood.

The next speaker was Rev. Reuben Thomas, D. D., who spoke with special reference to the proposed arbitration treaty between the United States and Great Britain. He said: Those of us who belong to the Peace Society are manifestly a small minority of the people, but intelligent people always are in a minority. He was not ashamed to be with the minority, for minorities, properly constituted, are always right. Our cause is not utopian, as a number of successful efforts to settle disputes by arbitra-

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phia was unanimously elected President of the Society to take the place of the retiring President, Major-General O. O. Howard. Mr. Baily is a life-member of the American Peace Society and an intelligent, earnest and conscientious upholder of the principles of peace.

Augustus Taber of Westchester, N. Y., residing for the present at San Jose, California, has recently published a pamphlet of 40 pages entitled "Peace," which covers nearly all phases of the argument against war, moral, economic, etc.

A Pan-American Congress of Religion and Education is to be held at Toronto, Canada, July 18th to 25th, this year. It will be presided over by Rev. Samuel G. Smith, D. D., of St. Paul, Minn. It will be composed of representative laymen and clergymen from every country, province and State of North and South America, including Protestants, Roman Catholics and Hebrews. County and State Governments will be represented, as well as churches, educational and charitable institutions. The great social, economic and moral problems of the day are to be considered. Dr. Albert Shaw will preside over the Authors, Editors and Publishers' Section, and President Henry Wade Rogers over the Educational Section. Other sections will be in charge of competent men. Efforts are being made by the committee in Toronto to make the congress a great success. The railroad will give half fare rates.

Reports come through Paris of French victories over the Hovas in Madagascar.

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tion prove. I quote from a recently published pamphlet:

"The first important case of arbitration in the present century was that in 1816 between the United States and Great Britain about the St. Croix river and the Lake boundaries. Since that time *seventy-seven* important international controversies, *minor* cases not considered, have been settled in this way, or an average of one a year for the whole period of seventy-seven years. There were two such settlements in each of the years 1839, 1864, 1870, 1881, 1882 and 1884; three in 1863, 1867, 1874, 1880, 1887, 1889 and 1890; four in 1879, 1884 and 1888, and five in 1871, the year in which the celebrated Alabama case was begun at Geneva. The United States, which in this particular at any rate leads the world, has been a party to thirty-seven of these cases; Great Britain to twenty-six; while *ten* of the cases, or about one-eighth of the whole number, have been between these two English-speaking nations alone. France has submitted ten difficulties to arbitration, Spain seven, Portugal six, Germany four; Italy and Holland three each; Denmark, Belgium, Russia, Greece and Turkey two each; Switzerland one; Japan and Afghanistan three each; Persia, China and Morocco two each; Liberia one. All of the South American republics except two, and two of the Central American States, have had arbitration."

The history of the effort for a *permanent* treaty of arbitration between Great Britain and the United States

really began with Henry Richard, M. P., in 1873. In 1887 a deputation of thirteen Englishmen, all prominent in public life, brought to this country a memorial signed by 234 members of Parliament. The memorial was as follows:

To the President and Congress of the United States of America:

"The undersigned members of the British Parliament learn with the utmost satisfaction that various proposals have been introduced into Congress urging the Government of the United States to take the necessary steps for concluding with the Government of Great Britain a treaty which shall stipulate that any differences or disputes arising between the two Governments which can not be adjusted by diplomatic agency shall be referred to arbitration. Should such a proposal happily emanate from the Congress of the United States, our best influence shall be used to ensure its acceptance by the Government of Great Britain. The conclusion of such a treaty would be a splendid example to those nations who are wasting their resources in war-provoking institutions and might induce other Governments to join the peaceful compact."

On the 16th of June, 1893, a resolution in reference to the same subject was passed in the House of Commons *without a division*. In January of this year Mr. Cremer, M. P., brought another memorial signed by 354 M. P.'s. He was courteously received at Washington but practically nothing was done by a Congress which, as some one has said, was "conspicuous for its incapacity." He was really glad the late Congress had done nothing, for our cause, he said, was a decent cause, and when any action was taken on it, it ought to be by a decent Congress.

The Jingo element in both nations were the real foes of our cause. This element in our country was fittingly described in the *North American Review* for May by Mr. E. L. Godkin, Editor of the *New York Evening Post*:

"Every incident which can, by any possibility, lead to an international conflict is greatly magnified. Every blunder of a subordinate is attributed to the direct orders of a superior, and is converted into a deliberate insult. All foreign statesmen are made to plot against the United States and concoct schemes for depriving us of something, or in some manner humiliating us. Apologies are treated as lies meant to throw us off our guard. I do not think I exaggerate when I say that upon any private matter of business no sensible man would think of heeding talk like that to which some of our statesmen have lately treated us on our foreign relations. Most of it, like that about the Hawaiian cable, such as Mr. Morgan's suggestion that a 'military cable,' would in some manner differ from a commercial cable, would discredit a smart boy of twelve. But it suits the purpose of the militant press to call the jingo orators 'well-informed men who have the courage of their convictions,' or 'students of the foreign policy of some other nation.' Along with this goes daily abuse of the secretary of state, who is following the rules of civilized diplomatic intercourse, and trying to keep the peace. Everything he does is a blunder. Common politeness in his despatches is base truckling to foreigners. His ignorance is unparalleled. Care for the honor of his country he has none. Foreign ministers write his despatches, and it is well if he is not receiving a salary from England or Germany."

In order to meet, and if possible, counteract the influence of this Jingo element, the Christian elements in English speaking natives must persistently assert themselves and bring their more humane ideas and principles to the front. If the so called Christian Church were Christian there would be no necessity for Peace Societies. The Church itself would be a great peace society. The only way to lift up society to higher levels of life is persistently to keep before it great ideals and to work perseveringly under their inspiration.

As a believer in evolution I am persuaded that the tendency of Divine Providence is in the direction of subduing the animal by the intellectual and both by the ultimate domination of that which is spiritual.

But we must move along the line slowly, using such opportunities and supporting such measures as tend in the right direction whether it be Mr. Blaine's Reciprocity treaties or Mr. Cremer's efforts to obtain a treaty of permanent arbitration. The great example which would be furnished to the whole world by such a treaty between the English speaking people of Great Britain and America would be overwhelming in its influence and ultimately the other great nations must be ashamed of their animalized civilizations and rise to a higher and holier level of international life.

Secretary Trueblood occupied a few moments at the close of Dr. Thomas' address in explaining the methods and purposes of the American Peace Society and in soliciting support for its work.

Hon. George S. Hale, of the Boston Bar, was the next speaker. Following is a brief digest of his most interesting remarks:

Erasmus said, "A disadvantageous peace is better than the most just war." Luther, "A wicked tyrant is better than a wicked war." Fox preferred "The hardest terms of peace to the most just war," and our own Franklin summed up these sentiments in the declaration that "There never was a good war or a bad peace." Nor was there ever an arbitration whose result was not better than the war which it prevented. No nation has had better examples of this than Great Britain and the United States in the settlement of the Alabama and the Behring Sea controversies. Imagine the double loss to both nations, far above any award, in a war which might have left no more favorable result. When we think of the elements of war, the waste of life, ruined families, terrible suffering, life long sorrow for the living, waste of property, of national resources, the exhaustion of a vigorous, rich and prosperous country, heart burnings, lasting desire for revenge, national enmities, continuing and reviving, how can we balance these against the most onerous award. We are told that war develops courage, self sacrifice, not in consequence but in spite of its evils, but it brings degradation, deterioration, crime, enforced idleness and bad habits for a generation. The worst result of an unfavor-

able arbitration is a loss (less than the cost of war) of money, a possible irritation and disappointment but no such bitterness of feeling, while it saves property, life and honor. The whole system of civilization is based upon compulsory arbitration by the machinery of Courts and officers of the law. Imagine the effect of the restoration of private wars for the settlement of disputes between local powers as in the middle ages. Suppose we should allow Boston and Worcester, Massachusetts and New Hampshire to settle the question about the use of the Nashua River or Lake Winnepésee for a water supply by the contest of armed forces. And yet it is as reasonable and logical as the settlement of controversies between nations by battle. With what consistency can we contend that Secretary Herbert may send a dynamite bomb to sink a ship with a thousand innocent sailors and condemn Ravachol or the Chicago Anarchists for using the same means to right their fancied wrongs. Arbitrations save honor as well as wars. If an award is unjust the honorable acceptance of its results by a nation "that sweareth to his own hurt and changeth not" is as glorious as a successful and destructive battle.

Three of our war vessels cost, respectively, \$3,020,000

3,010,000

3,180,000

or

\$9,210,000

The Boston Public Library has cost to May 21, 1895, \$2,491,820.86. What is the value of an Arbitration System that would enable us to divert this expenditure from engines of defence and destruction to three or four such buildings for the education and instruction of the people.

Mr. Atkinson's proposal for the neutralization of Hawaii wins our applause and admiration, but if it is wise and fitting to neutralize a corner of the ocean far away from contending armies, is it not wiser to neutralize the harbor of Boston, the Thames, the Black Sea and the Baltic, the Bosphorus or the Hellespont and bring the happy age

When peace shall over all the earth
Her ancient splendor fling,
And the whole world send back the song
Which now the angels sing,—
"Peace hath her victories
No less renowned than war."

The following letter from Joseph Cook to the Secretary was read.

Boston, May 10, 1895.

Dear Sir—The cessation of war in the Orient, and the memorable successes of Arbitration in the settlement of various recent international disputes in the Occident, make the present a most fortunate season in which to emphasize the principles of the Peace Society. Liberty, Commerce, Science and Christianity are all the allies of Peace. Now that so many of the masses *vote* they cannot so easily be made to *fight*, as when wars were declared chiefly at the will or caprice of kings and privileged classes. Those who suffer most by war now very generally, under representative government, hold the purse-strings of war.

Commerce and Science have made the world one neighborhood; and Christianity is making it one brotherhood.

I congratulate you on the progress of the great and good cause of Arbitration and on the application of guarantees of military neutrality to new regions in the common highways of nations.

With thanks for your invitation to me to take part in your meeting and with regrets that the exigencies of a lecture tour prevent my doing so,

I am yours faithfully,

JOSEPH COOK.

The last speaker was Hon. Samuel B. Capen, President of the Boston Municipal League. He said that it was a pleasure to see so many persons of different views on many subjects met together on the same platform in the interests of a great movement. It was a fine illustration of the spirit of co-operation, the growing spirit of our age. Men are learning to help one another instead of each seeking his own interest alone often by opposing and injuring others. As there is a general awakening of municipal conscience which is demanding better and purer and more humane government of cities and a better city life, so there is a general awakening of international conscience calling for more humane and peaceful relations among the nations of the earth. He was glad that there is this growing recognition of the brotherhood of men. The world has grown to be very small in our day. It took nine days to get news of the battle of Waterloo to London. Now London could speak to New York and get an answer back in ninety seconds. In this improved condition of communication men and nations could understand one another better and they ought to live in peace.

THE MAGAZINES AND PAPERS.

THE SPRINGFIELD REPUBLICAN.

Sad Days for the Peace Society.

These must be sad days for the peace society. During the past year the belligerent tendencies of many of our leading statesmen have grown more pronounced and the trick of inflaming international prejudices in order to gain partisan advantage has been in more frequent use. The hate-theory of international relations has received a great impetus. All our leading republican politicians and editors are hating England, and people who decline to hate her find themselves in somewhat the position in which Robert Treat Paine found himself during the Jay treaty excitement a century ago. The democrats at that time were very intense in their feeling against the mother country, and Mr. Jay's treaty threw them into a still greater frenzy of disappointment and rage. Mr. Paine, who didn't hate England so fiercely as some of his neighbors, and, therefore, found something good in Mr. Jay, awoke one morning to find chalked upon his fence this inscription:—

Damn John Jay! Damn every one that won't damn John Jay!! Damn every one that won't put lights in his windows and sit up all night damning John Jay!!!

In face of such a sentiment as the Fries, Danas and Lodges are industriously propagating we cannot but re-

gard the proposition of Edward Atkinson to neutralize the Hawaiian islands as particularly audacious. Have Mr. Atkinson and the Peace society forgotten that the patriotic Senate at Washington rejected with contumely and scorn President Cleveland's recommendation that England be granted the right to establish a cable station on a barren, desolate rock many miles away from Hawaii? Have they so soon forgotten the heated denunciations of the executive by our New England senators for his un-American policy? Surely, they remember our junior senator's spirited remark that we should imitate England in her globe-circling conquests. There was a time when the Peace Society could count on sympathy, if not active support, from a senator of Massachusetts, but they cannot be ignorant of the fact that times have changed in the old Bay State.

We can imagine the fine scorn with which Senator Lodge will greet Mr. Atkinson's proposition to neutralize Hawaii. How unpatriotic, how un-American! Yet why shouldn't the neutrality of Hawaii be guaranteed forever by the great powers? What better solution of the question could there be from the world's standpoint or from the American standpoint? It may be ideal, but is the ideal impossible? Not if this nation is able to accomplish its mission among the nations of the earth. To no other people has such an opportunity been given as is given to ourselves by virtue of our impregnable position and colossal power to lead the way in substituting a policy of peace and good will for the hateful, selfish and wasteful policy of war.

In the case of Hawaii there is no possible advantage America would lose under an international guarantee of the neutrality of the islands, while such an arrangement would obviate the otherwise inevitable clash with the new power of the East, Japan, and save millions of money in fortifications and fleets. Yet this most sane and statesmanlike proposition of the Peace society cannot hope for the slightest support or encouragement from the men who represent Massachusetts in Congress to-day. And this is the saddest thing of all.

THE NEW YORK SUN.

A Sanctuary of Commerce.

Mr. Edward Atkinson, in an interesting address delivered before the American Peace Society at Boston on Thursday evening, dwelt upon "the possibility of making the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands the Sanctuary of the great Commerce of the Pacific Ocean." He said that he had recommended this idea to the authorities at Washington.

We should think that the project of an ocean sanctuary might perhaps appeal to the present administration, and that it might be willing to have Hawaii consecrated to this purpose, especially if she would take Liliuokalani as high priestess, set up the throne again and above all, renounce all ambitions and desires to cast in her lot with the American Union.

Mr. Atkinson thinks that the Rush-Bagot treaty of 1818, by which a very limited force of war vessels was allowed on the Great Lakes, is a precedent for the policy he now proposes for the Sandwich Islands, and that Japan could help us in bringing the plan to pass:

What greater triumph could now be attained by the new power which has suddenly come to the front in the far East than for Japan to unite with the United States in justifying the name of the Pacific